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the necessity of China to acquire for herself the technical know-how of the West if the nation were to survive. He recommended the training of students abroad and the attempt at home to produce the modern artifacts and arms of the West. During the Taiping Rebellion, he established some of China's first modern arsenals. To his organization of the Hunan peasant militia can be traced the beginnings of China's modern army.

Inadvertently, Tseng contributed to the disunity of China. In defeating the rebellion, he and his subordinate commanders were seldom able to obtain imperial direction and financial aid. To finance and organize efficient fighting forces, they introduced such innovations as personal armies, the likin (a tax on the movement of commercial goods within and across provincial borders), and provincial discretion in the collection and allocation of taxes. These measures laid the foundations for local autonomy and warlord rule that were to plague China up through World War II.

D. Monarchial Reform and Republicanism

For much the same reasons that made Kwangtung a leader in the Taiping Rebellion, that province again played a major part in the monarchial reform and republican movements. The two promotors of the Reform of 1898 were K'ang Yu-wei and his follower, Liang Ch'i-ch'ao.[30] Both

30. On K'ang Yu-wei, see Feng, op. cit., pp. 676-91. On Liang Ch'i-ch'ao, see J. R. Levenson, Liang Ch'i-ch'ao and the Mind of Modern China, Cambridge, Mass., Harvard University Press, 1953.

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of these men were from Kwangtung. When the Manchu Dowager Empress Tz'u Hsi resisted the new measures of the "Hundred-Day Reform" of 1898 and proved incompetent to resist encroachment by the foreigner, a large part of the reform sentiment turned toward revolutionary republicanism. In that camp also, the leader was a native of Kwangtung -- Sun Yat-sen.

Until the May 4th Movement of 1919, the membership of the various revolutionary organizations evolved by Sun Yat-sen was largely composed of natives of Kwangtung. It consisted mostly of youths educated abroad or in missionary schools, merchants and overseas emigrants from Kwangtung, and opportunistic militarists and their armies based in Kwangsi. Working with, if not within, the various revolutionary organizations was the membership of various secret societies. They were strongest in the Central-South Region below the Yangtze River.[31]

E. Kwangtung and Kwangsi Separatism

The separatist tendency of Kwangtung and Kwangsi was strengthened with the failure of the

31. S. Chen and R. Payne, Sun Yat-sen, A Portrait, New York, John Day. Co., 1946, pp. 52-54 and passim. Also see Lyon Sharman, Sun Yat-sen, His Life and Meaning: A Critical Biography, New York, John Day Co., 1934, pp. 61-63; and MacNair, op. cit., pp. 8-9, 25-26, 65-72.

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is literary Chinese that has kept China's classics alive and perpetuated the many pithy dicta of wisdom unsurpassed in the living language of the Chinese people despite dialectal barriers of any kind. Although the written national language has been gaining wider and wider acceptance, the great majority of government and commercial organizations are still using literary Chinese in the transactions of their routine business. 212 195

IX. LANGUAGE REFORMS

Attempts to introduce language reforms in China began on a nationwide basis with the movement to unify the national language shortly after the establishment of the Chinese Republic in 1911. The movement was followed closely by efforts to reform the written language. Those who advocated such reforms were of the opinion that since the characters were so complicated and time-consuming for the average person to learn, and since literary Chinese was so unrealistic and impractical, something had to be done to make the written language of China more effective, so that it could be within the grasp of the average Chinese citizen in a relatively short period of time. 212 185

A. Phonetic Symbols

One type of reform advocated the use of phonetic symbols as an aid to the illiterate to learn to read. However, since the sole function of these symbols is phonetic, they are effective when they are used as a guide to correct pronunciation in accordance with the standard of the national language for the purpose of leveling down dialectal differences in pronunciation. They are helpful only to those who have not yet acquired such a knowledge. They cannot possibly add 185

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anything to the attempt to make the Chinese language system simpler or more readily accessible to the illiterate masses. 198 185

B. Alphabetization

Another type of reform advocated was the alphabetization of Chinese in order to get away from ideographic writing. As a matter of fact, the use of the Roman alphabet for the transcription of sounds of the Chinese language is no novel suggestion. As early as the beginning of the sixteenth century, Matteo Ricci, a Jesuit missionary to China, began to transcribe the then Mandarin sounds with the Roman alphabet on the basis of the speech sounds of his own native Italian language. Later, other systems of romanization were devised by others to meet the needs of those speaking other Western languages. The most widely used system among English-speaking peoples is the so-called Wade-Giles system, originally devised by Sir Thomas Wade, a member of the British legation in China, and later revised by the British sinologist, Herbert A. Giles. Another system in current use in this country is devised by the linguists at Yale University and is known as the Yale System. 212 185

In 1928 the Chinese Ministry of Education adopted a system of romanization known as Gwoyeu Romatzyh or National Language Romanization, devised by a group of Chinese linguists and intellectual leaders such as Dr. Yuen Ren Chao, Dr. Lin Yutang, and others. Its distinguishing feature is that instead of indicating Chinese intonation by means of superior figures or diacritical marks, it spells the different tones of Chinese words with different letters: mai (second tone, Wade-Giles mai 2) "to bury"; mae (third tone,

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Wade-Giles mai 3) "to buy"; may (fourth tone, Wade-Giles mai 4) "to sell". 212 185

Between 1929 and 1931 another system of romanization known as Latinxua was devised mainly by Professor A. A. Dragunov, a linguist of Leningrad, primarily for teaching the Chinese workers in the USSR to read. It has been very popular, for obvious reasons, with the Chinese Communists, who have been doing all they can to promote and popularize it. However, since the system makes no attempt, except in an ad hoc manner, to distinguish tones in Chinese, it is not only inadequate and unsatisfactory, but often misleading.

C. Simplified Characters

Yet another type of proposal advocated the simplification of Chinese characters, especially the more complicated ones in common use, by reducing the number of their strokes. Advocates of this proposal believed that a simplified system of writing would make the whole process of learning to read and write Chinese much easier and less time-consuming. For example, ts'ai "then" has been reduced to look like 才, and t'ieh "iron", to look like 铁. If a satisfactory principle of simplification that is philologically sound can be worked out, so that the simplified characters, if necessary, can be identified with the original characters, the adoption of such a system may turn out to be a boon to China's millions of illiterate people in their effort to become literate.

D. Basic Chinese

A fourth type of proposal advocated the reduction of the number of characters to be meant for general

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use in order to simplify the written language. For example, the series of textbooks for teaching the illiterate compiled by Dr. Yen Yang-ch'u, leader of the Mass Education Movement, who is better known abroad as James Y. C. Yen, represents an effort made in this direction. On the basis of some 1,200 characters chosen by him in terms of their frequency, he compiled texts that he believed would enable China's illiterate people to meet their basic needs in expression. As another effort made more or less in the same direction, we may mention the list of characters chosen by Hung Shen, the famous dramatist. In 1935 he published his Method of Teaching and Using 1,100 Basic Chinese Characters. Instead of basing his choice of characters on frequency and limiting their usefulness and expressiveness to a rudimentary plane, he chose them on the criteria of their flexibility in forming compounds with other characters and their adequacy for general use in everyday situations.

X. DEVELOPMENTS UNDER THE COMMUNISTS

The Chinese Communists have been cautious in their efforts to reform the Chinese language. They frequently quote Stalin who said that the language of a people cannot be artifically changed and that the evolution of any language has to follow a natural course.[1]

1. See quotation and discussion in Ts'ao Po-han, "Yu-wen Wen-t'i P'ing-lun Chi [Critical Essays on the Language Problem], Shanghai, Tung-fang shu-tien, 1954, p. 95.

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However, to combat illiteracy the Communists also see the immediate need of simplifying the Chinese written language. In this regard the government policy is based on Mao Tse-tung's statement in his On New Democracy that, "under certain conditions, the written language of China must be reformed."[2] Envisaged as an ultimate goal of language reform is the complete Latinization of the Chinese written language. In other words, the characters will be replaced by the Latin alphabet. Communist promoters of Latinization often cite Lenin's pronouncement that "Latinization is the great revolution of the East,"[3] to substantiate their argument.

The Communists are trying to cultivate a politically conscious proletariat in China; China's spoken language, as reflected in songs, plays, and speeches, is becoming more proletarian and drifting away from the set phrases and expressions traditionally used by the intellectual class. Extensive use of professional jargon and local expressions is the vogue of the day. Political terms and scientific terms, particularly those of Russian origin, are apparently on the lips of every Chinese who has had Communist indoctrination. It must be noted that the Communists, in adopting many new terms heretofore unfamiliar to the average Chinese, are aware of the danger of corrupting their language. The People's Daily of Peking (the Pravda of China), in an editorial on June 6, 1951, urged the

2. Mao Tse-tung, Mao Tse-tung Hsüan-chi, [Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung], Vol. II, Peking, Jen-min ch'u-pan-she, 1952, p. 680.

3. John de Francis, Nationalism and Language Reform in China, Princeton University Press, 1950, p. 90.

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use of correct Chinese and stressed the need for the study of grammar so that "the Chinese language will not become corrupt and impure."[4] 191 185

In the movement to eradicate illiteracy, the current trend is to promote accelerated methods of language teaching and to standardize and formalize many simplified characters already used by the people in handwriting. The Peking government, however, is applying little effort to the popularization of Latinized Chinese. One of the most publicized methods to accelerate language learning was introduced in 1948 by Ch'i Chien-hua, a cultural cadre attached to the armed forces. Ch'i champions the use of the "National Phonetic Symbols" (not to be confused with the Gwoyeu Romatzyh discussed in foregoing sections of this chapter) as the "walking stick" for new learners. The phonetic symbols are employed as an aid to pronunciation. This method was said to be so successful that the Peking government in May 1952 recognized Ch'i's contribution by inviting him to the capital and awarding him a citation.[5] 212 185

Simplification of written characters has received official blessing. When the Committee on the Study of Language Reform under the Ministry of Education compiled 798 such simplified characters and recommended that they be adopted, the recommendation was given immediate attention. On May 1, 1955, the committee announced that 57 of the simplified characters would be adopted by six national periodicals for experimental purposes.[6] On October 15, 1955, an All-China Conference on Language Reform was

4. Quoted in Jen-min Chiao-yu [People's Education], (Monthly), Peking, March 1955, p. 28.
5. [People's Education], May 1952, p. 4.
6. Hua-ch'iao Jih-pao [China Daily News], New York, May 2, 1955, p. 1.

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called by the committee to revise and enlarge the proposed list of simplified characters. 212 185

The Latinization movement, although without much official promotion, is by no means dead. There are publications printed in this new form of Chinese. One ardent supporter of this movement, Ni Hai-shu, claimed that in 1949 there were over 300 such publications, with a total circulation of about 500,000, already on the market.[7] In December 1951, there were evidences to show that active support for this movement was discernible in Central-South China.[8]

There are other recent developments in language reform. One is the attempt to standardize the use of punctuation. On October 5, 1951 the Government Administration Council in Peking issued a directive on the correct use of punctuation marks.[9] Since that time the general trend has been moving toward standardization. It has also been advocated that Chinese be written horizontally and from left to right. Such a practice is not new, but the Peking government is the first Chinese regime to sanction it. Following lengthy discussions on such a practice, national publications like the Englightenment Daily and New China Monthly, since January 1, 1955, have been printing their texts horizontally.

As to the languages of minority nationality groups, the over-all Communist policy is to help them create

8. Hsin-wentzu Pan-yüeh-k'an [New Language Semimonthly] , Shanghai, Dec. 16, 1951, p. 28; Jan. 16, 1952, p. 20.

9. Jen-min Shou-ts'e, 1952 [People's Handbook, 1952] , Shanghai, Ta-kung pao, 1952, p. 437.

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their own written scripts. The theory is that these people must first be given their own languages; then it will be easier for them to learn Chinese (Latinized Chinese, most probably). In Central-South China, a script is being developed for the Chuang Minority Nationals in Kwangsi Province.[10] These newly created scripts are based on the Latin alphabet.

XI. SPEAKERS OF FOREIGN LANGUAGES

Before 1949, the use of foreign languages, mainly English, was found in a few large port cities in Central-South China such as Canton and Hankow. Contact with English-speaking people in such cities and inclusion of English in school curricula accounted for the popularity of English. However, with the exception of a few foreign missionary schools in which English was emphasized and taught by native speakers, instruction in English in other schools did not amount to much. This was true even of the colleges of the region. Although some college students could read a publication in English with reasonable ease, they could hardly converse in it. On the average, it may be safely assumed that no more than one-tenth of the secondary school graduates and no more than one-third of the college graduates could, with some difficulty, read English. The over-all percentages of those who could speak it would be even smaller.

The Communist policy is to discourage the use of English or any other Western language except for advanced specialized studies. But as late as 1953,[11]

10. Survey of China Mainland Press, No. 1068, Hong Kong, American Consulate-General, June 14, 1955, p. 1.

11. I-chiu-wu-ssu-nien T'ou-k'ao Ta-hsüeh Chih-tao, Guide to Taking College Entrance Examinations in 1954, Hong Kong, Hsueh-sheng shu-tien, 1954, pp. 98-100.

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that from May 1950 to January 1952 in Kiangsi, 121,000 free marriages had been arranged with the assistance of the Democratic Federation of Women, more than 72,900 divorces had been instituted after the failure of attempts at reconciliation, the marriages of 16,454 child brides had been annuled, 40,920 engagements arranged by parents had been terminated, and 33,834 couples had been aided in establishing harmonious homes by the intercession of the People's Government.[27]

D. Reorientation of Family Reform

Between the time of the publication of these divorce figures in March 1953 and the end of the year, the Communist approach to marriage and family reform seemed to have undergone a change. There are indications that the regime's emphasis on new freedom for women and the prominent publicity given statistics on divorce had led to the Marriage Law being popularly termed the "Divorce Law."[28] At the same time, resistance in the rural areas to sudden changes in the old institutions of marriage and family relations were becoming evident to Party leaders as the result of the late 1952 investigations were tabulated.

A shift in the pace and in the propaganda emphasis on marriage and family reform was

27. C.B., 236, p. 4.
28. China News Analysis, 5, p. 2.

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evident in Liu Ching-fan's report to the Government Administrative Council at the end of 1953. Although the better treatment and greater freedom given to women was not to be neglected, greater emphasis was placed on the establishment of "harmonious" and "democratic" relationships within the family, whether originally of the old or new type, and to the positive benefits that would accrue to all members of the family as a consequence of reform.[29]

Analyzing the then current situation, Liu noted that the people still maintained a feudal ideology and consciousness in regard to many social problems, and that this attitude in respect to marriage problems was "a more universal and serious one." Liu admitted that the abolition of the feudal marriage system and the establishment of the new system was "a long term and difficult process in the ideological and social reform of the people" To accomplish this reform, he added, the regime would have to co-ordinate its efforts with the people's personal interests and levels of attainment, persuade the people patiently, and raise their level steadily. The process of implementing the Marriage Law, Liu concluded, would have to be made part of the regular tasks of the government and people's organizations at all

29. C.B., 273, pp. 5-6.

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levels and co-ordinated with the central tasks of production, construction, and elections.[30] These recommendations have become the principles by which the government still seems to be guided in marriage and family reform.

In the cities where modern influences had prepared the people for acceptance of new marriage and family principles, the regime encountered a different kind of problem. Just before International Women's Day, March 8, 1955, an authoritative statement in the Communist press added a new note to the usual references to lingering remnants of feudal obstruction and the long-term nature of family reform. The statement charged that bourgeois ideology had reached into marriage and family relationships. The bourgeois influences detected were love of luxury and disparagement of labor, "carelessness" in choosing marriage partners or the desire for new partners after marriage, and devotion to self-interest. They had respectively given rise to the sins of marriage based on money, the "belittlement of sexual relationships," and maltreatment, desertion, and irresponsibility toward parents and children.[31]

The nation's young people were evidently the most prone to this subversive influence. A

30. Ibid., pp. 4-6.
31. S.C.M.P., 1022, p. 4.

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campaign was launched in the large cities during the spring of 1955 to guard youth against "bourgeoise concepts." In connection with the drive, the Communist press evidenced concern regarding romantic love, heart-break, unsolved marriage problems of workers in sparsely populated areas, and the attractions and diversions of a carefree social life in the cities. These things, the press warned, were subverting many young people from their primary duty of devoting their whole effort and attention to study and work in the national interest. The advice of the Communist editors "to place love in a secondary position in one's life" is hardly likely to solve the problem.[32]

A different sort of problem confronted youth in the countryside. Apparently the possibility was not present there for youth to develop love and marriage attachments through the ideal and officially sanctioned method of mutual participation in production, indoctrination, and study. A 1955 report on Marriage Law implementation admitted that "in the extensive rural districts...the conditions for adequate communal life and avenues for social intercourse" are lacking. As a result, "most marriages are still being contracted after both parties were first introduced to each other by third parties." The

32. Ibid., 1006, pp. 15-18; 1052, pp. 25-33.

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report hastened to explain that as the bride and groom gave their previous agreement to the marriage it was to be regarded as a marriage of free will and not to be confused with the old and outlawed practice of arranged marriage.[33] 185 584

E. Replacement of the Family's Social, Economic and Political Role

A second step taken by the Communist regime to change radically the nature and function of the Chinese family was accomplished with the establishment of organizations to regiment every phase of human endeavor. The labor unions in the city, the peasant associations, mutual aid teams, and co-operatives in the country became the center not only of economic life, but of social, political, and indoctrination activities as well. Unions were organized in the cities almost as they fell to the Communist armies, but the formation of comparable institutions in the countryside awaited the gradual process of land reform. Until it was completed in any area, no alternate organization to the family existed to assume its socio-economic role. This fact seems to explain why the Communist during the spring of 1953 limited their Marriage Law campaign in the countryside to those areas where land reform had been accomplished. 596 185

33. Ibid., -002, p. 3.

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Special organizations were set up to train and absorb the energies of women and children who might otherwise be free of the constant direct influence of the government. These two groups were absorbed respectively into the All-China Democratic Women's Federation, and into the Young Pioneers, Federation of Democratic Youth, and the New Democratic Youth Corps.

Aside from its primary role as a unit for procreation and for child-care until the young reached an age when they would prove adaptable to molding by the state, the family was left only with the secondary duty of supporting the state training process. An editorial in the People's Daily in mid-1955 pointed out the "deep solicitude" of the government toward children, made manifest by the establishment of nurseries and schools and the teaching of proper attitudes toward children and the correct methods for educating them. "The new Socialist generation" was to be brought up "physically strong, courageous, honest, fond of study, patriotic, and imbued with collective spirit." The editorial also stated that trade unions were to help office employees and workers to learn how to educate their children: Teachers and directors of the Young Pioneers were to assume the "important responsibility" of guiding children in classrooms, meetings, and extra-curricular activities.[34]

34. Ibid., 1064, pp. 11-13.

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C. The Pace of Reform

In the pace of family reform, as in all othe changes instituted by the Communist regime, the Central-South Region is behind the North, Northeast, and East China regions. For one thing, the Central-South Region has been for a shorter time under Communist control. For another, the development of modern industry in China, with its influences for change in family form and function, took place largely outside the Central-South Region. The trends forced by industrialization in many cases parallelled the objectives sought in the Marriage Law or, at least, prepared the people for a change in the old institution. 185

Another factor in the pace of family reform which has not been considered in this chapter is the existence of ethnic minorities in the Central-South Region. Constituting some five per cent of its population, largely concentrated in Kwangsi, these non-Han Chinese people have a variety of unique customs. However, the largest single minority group, the Chuang people of Kwangsi had closely associated and readily intermarried with their Han-Chinese neighbors and were becoming largely indistinguishable from them in appearance and custom before the establishment of the Communist regime. The new regime's special treatment of ethnic minorities has been extended to the Chuang people, and their trend toward integration with the Han-Chinese may therefore have been reversed. (See the chapter on Ethnic Groups in this handbook.) 563